

# **EXHIBIT 27**

Message

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**From:** jpollak@breitbart.com  
**Sent:** 10/14/2016 7:22:47 AM  
**To:** James O'Keefe III [james@projectveritas.com]  
**CC:** Christian Hartsock [christianleehartsock@gmail.com]  
**Subject:** CONFIDENTIAL - drafts (3)

Dear James and Christian,

I am still in the process of reviewing the raw footage.

First of all, let me congratulate you on your courage.

Second, you should know that I regard this as the most significant investigative journalism that has yet been done on how the "progressive" movement works within campaigns. You have solved a mystery that will explain many other phenomena we see in politics.

Third, we need to talk about rollout -- ASAP. I would like to discuss the story with Sean Hannity, hopefully so we can pre-tape interviews about it on Sunday for Monday's broadcast. I'd also like to alert Drudge.

I have included my three DRAFT articles (they do not have headlines yet). One is the major piece about "bird-dogging"; one is going to be an interview about one specific incident of violence (Asheville), and one is going to be about the "Pony Express" connecting the Clinton campaign with the super PACs.

I would like these to be exclusives with Breitbart.

Let's talk Friday, as early as we can. I still have lots of footage to get through.

Joel

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1.

Democrats have used trained provocateurs to instigate violence at Republican events throughout the 2016 election cycle, including several Donald Trump rallies, to create a sense of "anarchy," according to a new investigation released Monday by James O'Keefe's Project Veritas.

O'Keefe produced hidden camera video showing key Democratic Party consultants proudly describing the practice, which they call "bird-dogging."

The video also shows the consultants describing a system through which Democratic officials — including the Hillary Clinton campaign — give tacit approval to their field operations, while being able to preserve "plausible deniability" in the event that any particular action goes wrong.

The leader of the effort is an organizer named Robert Creamer, a veteran Chicago activist and who is thought to have planned Democrats' political strategy during the push for

Obamacare. Creamer, who is married to Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D-IL), went to prison in 2006-7 for a check-kiting scheme, but was quickly hired by then-Sen. Barack Obama (D-IL) to train volunteers for his 2008 presidential campaign.

In 2011, Creamer opened Democracy Partners, a nationwide consulting firm, together with other veteran left-wing organizers. Creamer's columns at the Huffington Post also provide talking points to left-wing activists throughout the country. (Many were circulated on e-mails uncovered in the latest Wikileaks e-mail dump.) Creamer also claims to advise Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign.

Project Veritas obtained video of several conversations with Democracy Partners consultant Scott Foval, former deputy director of the left-wing group People for the American Way. In one video, Foval praises Creamer as "diabolical," and goes on to describe how he and Creamer use protesters to foment violence — planning confrontations in advance, choosing targets to provoke, and maximizing media coverage.

FOVAL: So one of the things we do is we stage very authentic grassroots protests right in their faces at their events. We infiltrate. And then we get it on tape. And then when our guys get beat up-

PV: You mean authentic-seeming grassroots?

FOVAL: No, authentic.

PV: You mean-

FOVAL: Protesters.

PV: So like what we saw in Madison.

FOVAL: We train our people, and I work with a network of groups, we train them up on how to get themselves into a situation on tape, on camera, that we can use later.

PV: So some of this, so I probably know your work.

FOVAL: I know you do. Everybody does.

PV: You mean like a situation where it's sort of like-

FOVAL: You remember the Iowa State Fair thing where Scott Walker grabbed the sign out of the dude's hand and then the dude kind of gets roughed up right in front of the stage right there on camera?

PV: Yeah.

FOVAL: That was all us. The guy that got roughed up is my counterpart who works for Bob [Creamer].

PV: And that was like, storyboarded? Him getting roughed up like that?

FOVAL: We scenarioed it.

PV: And so you leant yourselves to that situation and it happened. A self-fulfilling prophecy.

FOVAL: We not only leant ourselves, we planted multiple people in that front area around him and in the back to make sure there wasn't just an accident happen up front, there was also a reaction that happened out back. So the cameras, when they saw it, saw double angles of stuff like, they saw what happened up front, and they saw the reaction of people out back.

PV: That's fucking brilliant. That's brilliant.

FOVAL: And then the reporters had people to talk to.

PV: But the assailants were real, is what you're saying, the assailants weren't-

FOVAL: The assailants were real. They didn't know they were being [boobied?].

PV: So they were being provoked into-

FOVAL: They weren't being provoked. We were just standing there. We knew what they would do. We knew what they were doing. Because if you look at Trump's pattern of followers, this has been something that's been escalated for many many months. We've watched an arc of behavior over time, that's become increasingly more [bold?], increasingly taking in groups of people who are from the edge, and here in Wisconsin particularly, and I would say this about Illinois and Iowa as well, tend to draw a certain kind of crazy if you're Trump. And it's basically an Aryan Brotherhood kind of crazy. There was a kid at Trump's rally in Janesville, earlier this week or last week, he was holding a Confederate flag, and when he was approached by my two reporter friends to ask him why he was holding the Confederate flag, he really didn't know why he'd chosen that symbol, except for the fact that he's a racist. In his own mind, you knew that he wasn't going to say it on camera, that it was going to be America! America! It was them immigrants have taken our fuckin' jobs. So that's the kind of target, that guy, that we want as the poster child associated with Donald Trump. But what you have are there's another generation, the real asshole, behind the kids like that -- their dads. And their dads are the ones donating and showing up to Trump rallies. That kid wasn't there by himself. He was there, but his dad was there nearby. And I guarantee you his dad was a dyed-in-the-wool neo-Nazi. I guarantee it.

PV: So, but there has to have, you have to have some kind, you can't just-, these aren't just rank and file volunteers that you can plant, because they have to have ways of, a magnetic means of attracting a situation-

FOVAL: Some of them are staff, from our affiliate boards, some of them are very high level volunteers.

PV: Okay.

FOVAL: And some of them are actually just people who have been affiliated with our movement for so long, that you just pick up the phone and go Hey do you got a few guys? This is my idea, do you have a few guys? They're like, 'Fuck yeah! Let's fuckin' do this!' You give them money, you buy them dinner and you buy them beers or whatever, and it happens. But you game it out

ahead of time. It's like any good op, you game it out two or three days ahead of time, so everybody knows when they show up that day, that morning, in the pre-run, what their role is and not to step out of their role. It's just like *Ocean's Eleven*, but it's for politics.

PV: So the black kid who got beat up, or roughed up, months ago, at the Trump rally. That was you?

FOVAL: So that was a little bit different because that kid was part of Black Lives Matter and Young, Gifted and Black [Coalition], and he was probably converted into being at that rally by somebody who was probably trained by us, not directly, he was not a direct thing there. And the idea of him getting beaten up was already talked to him ahead of time, I guarantee you, because we always have that conversation ahead of time. What is the level of risk you are willing to tolerate to do what you believe in? is how we put it. And we put it that way because, for those of us who have been in the movement for a long time, I've been pepper-sprayed so many times I can't even tell you. But when I was a young whippersnapper, it was over losing our farms, it was over closing up plants, it was over abortion clinics, it was in the face of Operation Rescue. That was my early life, in the 80s and 90s, those were our enemies. Today we have a different kind of enemy. An enemy that is much more manipulative and media-savvy, and so you have to understand that whatever puppet show you're putting on in front of the cameras. There's always a producer there going, Is this real? The good thing is, we're in the YouTube world now. Everything's on YouTube. So you can actually release tape in real time, with YouTube live and livestream, so that you give the real angle of what happened, and so what happens is, is your actor the most convincing actor in the scene? Or is theirs?

PV: Oh, so you're saying they're using-

FOVAL: What's good for the goose is good for the gander. If you understand how to construct a scenario in a protest, you can always get the Republican assholes, or the crazy person to react.

Foval goes on to explain that Republicans are less adept at such tactics because they obey rules: "They have fewer guys willing to step out on the line for what they believe in. ... There is a level of adherence to rules on the other side that only when you're at the very highest level, do you get over."

In another video, Foval admits that his organization is responsible for an incident in Asheville, North Carolina in September, where an elderly woman with an oxygen tank was allegedly assaulted outside a Donald Trump rally.

In that incident, the 69-year-old woman heckled a visually impaired 73-year-old Trump supporter, then chased after him. She claimed he "punched" her in the jaw, though she had no visible injury; his attorney claims she pursued him and touched him on the shoulder first, and then fell to the ground as he turned around. The national media covered her claims widely, while largely ignoring his.

Foval explains that his organization cannot take public credit for that "bird-dogging" operation or any other, because Democracy Partners is contracted to work with the Democratic National Committee. However, he says that Democracy Partners is responsible for "a lot of stuff." He adds that it uses focus groups to select activists, including elderly women: "We can hire any demo that we want."

He also explains that to prevent the DNC from being held responsible for the "bird-dogging" and the resulting violence, the money for the operations is funneled through Americans United for Change (AUFC), a super PAC run by former DNC communications director Brad Woodhouse.

Foval also elaborates on the evolving tactics of activists in the field fomenting violence, which include dressing up as "Donald Duck" to suggest that Trump is "ducking" releasing his tax returns:

FOVAL: They're starting conversations in the line. Right? They're not starting confrontations in the rally. Because once they're inside the rally they're under Secret Service's control. The media will cover it no matter where it happens. The key is initiating the conflict by having leading conversations with people who are naturally psychotic. I mean honestly, it is not hard to get some of these assholes to pop off. It is a matter of showing up, to want to get into the rally, in Planned Parenthood t-shirts. Or, Trump is a Nazi, you know. You can message to draw them out, and draw them to punch you. I almost got punched on Monday morning. I was in the duck costume.

...

So the term bird-dogging — you put people in the line, at the front which means that they have to get there at six in the morning because they have to get in front, at the rally, so that when Trump comes down the rope line, they're the ones asking him the question in front of the reporter, because they're pre-placed there. To funnel that kind of operation, you have to start back with people two weeks ahead of time and train them HOW to ask questions. You have to train them to birddog.

...

We've trained a whole group of people in North Carolina, South Carolina, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, here, Iowa, to go and insert themselves and try to get into rallies to ask questions. It's a hit or miss kind of thing.

Foval then explains how his organization maximizes media coverage of "bird-dogging" events:

So the deal with the press angle, we tell them to direct everything back in, that they don't know what they're doing and need some help, and we have somebody help them, and usually it's someone who's not on contract. So here, you have a schedule of

events. We update this on an ongoing rolling basis every morning. These are all the Trump and Pence appearances. Tomorrow, for instance, we are turning out five hundred people in front of the Trump International in D.C. We have to have people prepared to go wherever these events are, which means we have to have a central kind of agitator training. Now we have a built-in group of people in New York who do this. We have a built-in group of people in D.C. who do this. We have a group of people in Vegas. We have a group of people in Colorado. We have a group of people in Minneapolis. So, you know, if they show up there, we can group them -- Phoenix -- another one. The problem we have right now is, picking and choosing which fights because we have a limited resourcing behind the project.

The violent events are scripted, he says, to bait Trump supporters, whom he calls "crazies":

A script of engagement. Sometimes the crazies bite and sometimes the crazies don't bite. And somebody needs to be okay with the crazies not biting for a week. Because you have to get them agitated from state to state... And as things heat up, it gets hotter. And it's getting really hot right now.

And Foval explains again how the operation is set up to allow the DNC and the Clinton campaign "plausible deniability" in the event that the true nature of the deliberate violence is discovered:

But what we have to watch is making sure there's a double-blind between the actual campaign and the actual DNC and what we're doing. There's a double-blind there, so that they can plausibly deny that they heard anything about it.

...

Between Bob [Creamer] and myself, Aaron Black, Brad Woodhouse, few other people in town, everybody hears about everything, we're basically on the same group of conference calls -- including the Russians! I use an encrypted system to communicate...

...

We have separate groups of calls with separate groups of people to maintain a plausible wall, we call it "the wall," we maintain a wall around each project so that the people who are not involved legally are not involved.

...

The campaign pays DNC, DNC pays Democracy Partners, Democracy Partners pays The Foval Group, The Foval Group goes and executes the shit on the ground.

(Aaron Black is described by Democracy Partners' website as an expert in "executing rapid response and media events ... instrumental at organizing rapid response events targeting GOP Presidential candidates throughout the country for Americans United for Change during the 2016 elections." He was also purportedly an organizer of the Occupy Wall Street movement, according to the website.)

Foval reiterates that the purpose of "bird-dogging" is to create a sense of "anarchy" around Trump: "The bird-dogging. The aggressive bird-dogging. What I call it is 'conflict engagement.' Conflict engagement in the lines at Trump rallies? We're starting anarchy. And he needs to understand that we're starting anarchy."

In a third video, Foval takes credit for a set of disruptions at Trump rallies, including one at a recent rally in Pittsburgh: "We interrupted his speech twice ... We sent a very small group of about five in, and we do the same thing that we did in Milwaukee and that's where one gets up and protests and they drag him out, next one gets up and protests and they drag him out."

Foval adds that the "bird-dogging" operations require a more highly trained, experienced and motivated group than ordinary volunteers:

If you're there, if you're there, if you're there, and you're protesting and you do these actions, you will be attacked at Trump rallies, that's why we do it.

...

The whole point is we know that Trump's people will freak the fuck out, his security team will freak out and his supporters will lose their shit. When you're inside the rally -- that's why we need to go to these specialized team of folks, to do the inside stuff, because they're battle hard.

...

It's about the intensity of the reaction. The reaction to the duck call, and the signs. Because once they pull out these signs, Trump supporters literally start throwing punches at you.

Foval also notes that the Clinton campaign and the DNC are involved, through a chain of contracts: "We are contracted directly with the DNC and the campaign. I am contracted to [Robert Creamer] but I answer to the head of special events at the DNC and the head of special events and political for the campaign. Through Bob. We have certain people who do not get to talk to them, at all."



He explains that Democracy Partners then provides material from the field to the campaign, the DNC, and a wide array of left-wing super PACs and organizations involved in the 2016 election effort:

We have a clip deliverable that we have to deliver every day for our groups of clients that are involved in this project: AUFC, A4C which is Alliance for Change, Alliance for Retired Americans which is part of the AFL-CIO, they're one of our partners on AUFC stuff. Depends on the issue. And then there's the DNC, and the campaigns, and Priorities [USA]. Priorities is a big part of this too. The campaigns and DNC cannot coordinate with Priorities, but I guaran-damn-tee you that the people who run the SuperPACs all talk to each other, and we and a few other people are the hubs of that communication.

He also explains how the campaign and the super PACs use consultants as intermediaries for communication, since federal law prevents them from contacting each other directly. He calls the system the "Pony Express," linking the DNC through Robert Creamer, through Robert Creamer to Foval, and through Foval to Brad Woodhouse's super-PAC, Americans United for Change:

FOVAL: We're consultants, so we're not the official entity. And so those conversations can be had between consultants who are working for different parts. That's why there's Bob, who's the primary there, and I'm a sub to him. And I'm also a primary to AUFC separately, that's why.

PV: So there's like a Morse code between the DNC and SuperPACs. And you guys-

FOVAL: It's less of a Morse code than it is a text conversation that never ends. It's like that. It's kind of like an ongoing pony express. It's not as official as it could be, but that's because the law doesn't allow it to be.

[insert comment from DNC, campaign, Creamer, etc., if necessary/possible]

[Anti-Trump violence point]

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2.

An attorney for the man accused of punching a protester outside a Donald Trump rally in Asheville, North Carolina, last month tells Breitbart News that a new video produced by James O'Keefe's Project Veritas showing a Democratic consultant claiming responsibility for the incident should exonerate her client.

Richard L. Campbell, 73, was accused of sucker-punching 69-year-old Shirley Teeter, who wears an oxygen tank. Teeter's claimed were picked up by national media, and a warrant was issued for his arrest by local police.

His attorney, Ruth Smith, told Breitbart News at the time that Teeter had "made up the whole thing." She noted that Campbell, who has cataracts, cannot see well and was being led through the throng of protesters by his wife. She pointed to Facebook video that shows Teeter approaching Campbell from behind, and apparently reaching for his shoulder. He turned around, she said, and Teeter fell down.

Now, she says [quote].

The Project Veritas video shows Scott Foval, a consultant for Democracy Partners, who works with the Democratic National Committee and the Hillary Clinton campaign, taking credit for Teeter's supposed "assault." He describes her as a participant in a tactic called "bird-dogging," where trained activists are sent to Trump rallies to instigate violence, either inside or outside. The goal is to create bad press for Trump, and a sense of "anarchy" around him that will frighten voters.

As Foval describes the tactic:

They're starting conversations in the line. Right? They're not starting confrontations in the rally. Because once they're inside the rally they're under Secret Service's control. The media will cover it no matter where it happens. The key is initiating the conflict by having leading conversations with people who are naturally psychotic. I mean honestly, it is not hard to get some of these assholes to pop off. It is a matter of showing up, to want to get into the rally, in Planned Parenthood t-shirts. Or, Trump is a Nazi, you know. You can message to draw them out, and draw them to punch you.

Foval nods when asked if Democracy Partners is responsible for the incident outside the rally in North Carolina, though he adds that his group did not have direct contact with Teeter. "We didn't know who she was ahead of time," Foval says. "We just had somebody who connected with her before that rally. And we knew that she was putting herself out there to draw a fire. That's all we knew."

The dialogue continues:

PV1: So someone that you guys work with contacted her-

FOVAL: That's what we know about it now.

PV1: -put out a secret casting notice? I don't know how the hell you guys do this.

FOVAL: No no no no no no, it was not preplanned. But she was one of our activists. Who had been trained up to birddog. So the term birddogging -- you put people in the line, at the front which means that they have to get there at six in the morning because they have to get in front, at the rally, so that when Trump comes down the rope line, they're the ones asking him the

question in front of the reporter, because they're pre-placed there. To funnel that kind of operation, you have to start back with people two weeks ahead of time and train them HOW to ask questions. You have to train them to bird-dog.

PV2: You're putting a very specific kind of person, who's going to get a specific reaction.

FOVAL:

PV: So she was trained? Or she was not trained.

FOVAL: She was trained. We've trained a whole group of people in North Carolina, South Carolina, New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, here, Iowa, to go and insert themselves and try to get into rallies to ask questions. It's a hit or miss kind of thing.

PV: Literally hit or miss!

FOVAL: Yeah literally hit or miss.

Focal goes on to explain how Democracy Partners arranges for a volunteer to help activists with press coverage, to maximize the impact of each "bird-dogging" incident, wherever it occurs.

At another point, a Project Veritas journalist asks: "I thought it was young activists, but, you're hiring old ladies?" Foval replies: "We can hire any demo that we want. We use the same mechanism to recruit them that we do to make focus groups." The list of participants can then be screened for potential activists, though Foval explains it is necessary to shield the Democratic National Committee from responsibility for "bird-dogging," in case of media exposure of the operation. The recent hacking scandal, he explains, has made Democratic political operatives more cautious about their activities.

"We have to be really careful. Um, because, what we don't need is for it to show up on CNN that the DNC paid for 'x' people to...that's not gonna happen. We need to keep it, you know, I hate to use the Beyonce term, "partition," but we need to keep the partition. That's as gay as I'll get."

Foval also describes working on the "bird-dogging" operations with a super PAC, Americans United for Change, run by former DNC spokesman Brad Woodhouse.

Democracy Partners itself is run by Democratic strategist Robert Creamer, a veteran Chicago activist and convicted felon who trained activists for Barack Obama's presidential campaign in 2007, and is thought to have crafted the political strategy for Obamacare in 2009-10. Creamer runs Democracy Partners as a "pinwheel," through which the Democratic National Committee provides resources to other projects and organizations, keeping the most controversial tactics — like "bird-dogging" — at arm's length.

The purpose of bird-dogging, Foval says, is to create a sense of "anarchy" around Donald Trump: "The bird-dogging. The aggressive bird-dogging. What I call it is "conflict engagement." Conflict engagement in the lines at Trump rallies? We're starting anarchy. And he needs to understand that we're starting anarchy."

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### 3.

New video from James O'Keefe's Project Veritas exposes a system called the "Pony Express," which Democratic consultants use to relay messages between Hillary Clinton's presidential campaign and a constellation of super-PACs funded by wealthy donors.

By law, campaigns are not permitted to coordinate with super PACs, especially in advertising, spending, and strategy, though they may communicate limited information about fundraising.

The Wikileaks email trove produced a legal memorandum addressed to Hillary For America (HFA), explaining what types of communication are permitted and prohibited under federal campaign finance laws. It notes:

Communications between HFA and Priorities should generally be limited to each entity's finance directors – Dennis Cheng (HFA) and Justin Brennan (Priorities). Communications between Dennis and Justin should be limited to fundraising; they should not discuss polling, research, or other nonpublic strategic information or plans pertaining to either organization's communications or spending. Moreover, we understand that Justin is not privy to Priorities' nonpublic strategic information or plans, which adds an additional layer of protection.

However, the communications described by Democracy Partners consultant Scott Foval goes far beyond that. According to Foval, a network of consultants maintains the "Pony Express," which he describes as "a text conversation that never ends." The information exchanged apparently includes strategy regarding "bird-dogging," a practice where trained activists infiltrate Republican rallies and try to provoke violence.

The dialogue between Foval and an undercover Project Veritas journalist is as follows:

CONSULTANT: We have a clip deliverable that we have to deliver every day for our groups of clients that are involved in this project: AUFC, A4C which is Alliance for Change, Alliance for Retired Americans which is part of the AFL-CIO, they're one of our partners on AUFC stuff. Depends on the issue. And then there's the DNC, and the campaigns, and Priorities [USA]. Priorities is a big part of this too. The campaigns and DNC cannot coordinate with Priorities, but I guaran-damn-tee you that the people who run the SuperPACs all talk to each other, and we and a few other people are the hubs of that communication.

PV: So you're kind of like-

CONSULTANT: Consultants.

PV: -intermediaries between the SuperPACs and the DNC. But the DNC, they can't talk to each other. But you guys are kind of like-

CONSULTANT: We're consultants, so we're not the official entity. And so those conversations can be had between consultants who are working for different parts. That's why there's Bob, who's the primary there, and I'm a sub to him. And I'm also a primary to AUFC separately, that's why.

PV: So there's like a Morse code between the DNC and SuperPACs. And you guys-

CONSULTANT: It's less of a Morse code than it is a text conversation that never ends. It's like that. It's kind of like an ongoing pony express. It's not as official as it could be, but that's because the law doesn't allow it to be.

[further]